[160 cont.]

*648 662 comprised this empire were exterminated or dispersed, and the lands they had occupied remained deserted.

This event brought about two great advantages for the [726 Kazaks. It delivered them from enemies who were as restless 727] as they were dangerous, and it gave them the means of extending their pasture lands over excellent places.

*648 The Bogdo Khan /emperor/ of China was far from being opposed to their occupying the ravaged steppes of Dzungaria, and indeed he tried to attract them there. To halt raids, he established [712] a fortified line between them and their old lands, which is still called the New Line today.

Thus the Kazak Great Horde, which had been constricted for so long, expanded on all sides to turn the best pasture lands to account. The part of this horde which came closest to the Chinese frontier and mixed with some of the remnants of the Dzungars was punished several times by force of arms for its usual brigandage, and it became subject to China and remains among Chinese subjects to this day. The others, who nomadize a little further west, have retained their independence.

*648 181 721 Some fractions of these two groups live next to the Buruts, and having often had to fight against them, have become more warlike and dangerous than all the other Kirghiz-Kazaks. We could not enumerate all their continual battles with their neighbors here, but we cannot help mentioning the violent attack they *648 726 made in 1771 against the Kalmuk Torguts, who were fleeing from Russia under the command of the famous Ubashi.

The man who distinguished himself most in this event was Erali, sultan of the Great Horde, who was known in China for his bravery and who received the title of knight or paladin of the [721] court from the Bogdo Khan (1). When he had learned of the

1. We have taken this information [161] on the exploits of this sultan from the Chinese work by Prince Tsichi [Chi Shih?], which is about the flight of the Torguts and was translated into Russian by Lipovtsov.

[174 cont.]

×648 graciously received by the Empress and would return home soon. Thirdly, he was told that the reports given by Tevkelev had made known Abulkhair's ambitions, and he was directed to keep on good terms with the hordes and with the Karakalpaks.

Abulkhair, who had been wearing himself out at the long wait, having been soothed for a time, the examination of his promises and proposals continued, in order to make them agree with the good of the empire. He was put under obligation verbally and in writing: first, to enforce the safety of the Russian borders [651] contiguous to his horde; second, to defend the merchant caravans and to escort them across the Kazak steppes; third, to furnish in case of need, like the Kalmuks and the Bashkirs, troops levied from among his subjects; fourth, to pay a tribute, or iasak, in animal hides.

He could not carry out a single one of these promises, for, like all the other khans who succeeded him, he did not have enough authority over his subjects. Several experiences soon proved how impossible it was for him to fulfill the first and [175] second promises. At first there was no reason for reminding him of the third, but in time it was proven that it was as risky as the others. The government at first believed it should decline the fourth, and later it was not even brought up, the matter being regarded as impossible.

In exchange for these promises, which were so pompous, Abulkhair, through his son and Tevkelev, asked two things above all: "the confirmation of the office of khan in his family forever, and the building of a city and a fort at the confluence of the [712] Ori and the Ural rivers, which could serve him as asylum in case of danger."

The Khan's requests and the attention of the government, and the State Councilor Kirilov was charged with satisfying them. He was a man who had distinguished himself by his geographical knowledge, a mapmaker whose collection of detailed information on upper Asia had aroused admiration as widespread as it was deserved. In addition he had kept all the treatises of Peter I regarding his views and plans concerning the Asiatic principalities contiguous to Russia. These facts decided him to draw up and

[178 cont.]
x 648 called the Dvoedantsy /"payers of double taxes"/. If any movement was noticed on their part, to report it immediately to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and inform the border commanders of it;

[705] 6. Not to give Abulkhair any help other than powder and arms in the war against the people of Khiva and to give him no auxiliary troops.

We have made it our duty to transcribe here in full the letters patent entrusted to Kirilov for the Middle and the Little Hordes. The first was given to Abulkhair after Kirilov arrived in the area in question. The second [179] could not be delivered because of the death of Khan Shemiaka, to whom it was addressed. Both are presented below.

"We, by the grace of God, Anna, Empress and autocrat of all the Russias, etc., etc.

"To Abulkhair, khan and elder of the Kirghiz-Kazak horde, and to all the Kirghiz-Kazak army, greetings from Our Imperial Majesty.

"It is our hope that the Kirghiz elders, Tatlymbet-Batyr and Baibek-Telengut, who were here with your son Erali and whom we sent, in the company of three Bashkirs, with a gracious letter patent, have already arrived in your presence. This letter patent apprises you, Abulkhair Khan, of our imperial favor toward you and of the fact that your son has been well provided for in our vicinity. And today, we, Great Sovereign and Imperial Majesty, by particular benevolence to you, Abulkhair Khan, our subject, and toward the elders and toward the entire nation of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, have most graciously acceded to your prayer, Abulkhair Khan, and have deigned to send from here our State Councilor Ivan Kirilov and our Colonel Murza Mahmet Tevkelev, and have commanded that a city be built at the mouth of the Ori, and that it be provided with men, artillery, mortars,
● [712] cannon, and other munitions of war, to protect you and to defend you, our subject, Abulkhair Khan, more easily and quickly, and the elders and all the army, as well as the other khans and elders of the Kirghiz-Kazak and Karakalpak hordes who have submitted

[207 cont.]
River had no other end but to attack the Kazaks, from whom they took many horses at this time; meanwhile the Dzungarian army returned to its home in peace, and Galdan Tsyren, the leader, died (1746).

This retreat, which was soon followed by the destruction of the Dzungarian state, brought peace to the Siberian frontiers, but it did not cause the Volga Kalmuks to lose their desire to join their compatriots. In order to hinder this project as much as possible, and also to put an end to the pillaging between the Kalmuks and Kazaks, both peoples were strictly forbidden to cross the Ural /River/. Also a regiment of Russian troops was detailed to keep watch there and to show that in the future such infractions would not remain unpunished. The Kalmuk leaders who had taken part in the last raid against the Kazaks were treated as state criminals and punished in [sur] the Volga, in order to serve as an example to their compatriots.

It was hoped that these measures would restore peace between the two enemy hordes, but it was hoped in vain. It is possible that the strict prohibition to crossing the border and the punishment of several violators of this rule, by way of example, did have some effect upon the Kalmuks, but it did not stop the Kazaks, who had become accustomed for two or three years not only to pillaging the Kalmuks with impunity but also the Russians. The building of forts and fortified posts along the lower sectors of the Ural River could only hinder the raids against the Kalmuks but could not stop them. Careful observation indeed suggested to the Kazaks a way of surmounting this obstacle.

The northern part of the Caspian Sea freezes over during the winter, and during the great frosts not only may it be crossed by men and horses, but also the heaviest weights can be transported over the ice without any [208] danger. Profiting by this fact, in February, 1746 the Kazaks moved from their steppes to those of the Kalmuks across the ice, opposite the mouth of the Ural River, and they carried out such an impetuous and unexpected attack below Krasny Yar [Krasnoyarsk] against the Kalmuks that they carried off nearly 700 prisoners of both sexes, killed about

[247 cont.]

[648] The weakness of their power and their frequent dissensions are still [439] almost unsurmountable obstacles to the security of trade, and [577] even to this day they make it impossible to make the caravan routes used by the merchants of Tashkent, Kokand, or their eastern neighbors perfectly safe. As for communications with the Bukharans and the Khivans, Russia has another route, that of the Caspian Sea. Before the hordes acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, it was the only route which served Russia for its trade with Persia and Central Asia. Catherine was not slow to turn her attention to this matter, and having rejected useless hopes from the promises of the Kazak princes, which were both empty and pompous, she wished [248] to concentrate all the commercial relations of her subjects with Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara in Astrakhan. But this plan was not carried out, on the one hand because the Asiatics did not find it advantageous for them, and [316] on the other hand because it threatened Orenburg, Troitsk, and all the copper and iron mines established in their environs with complete ruin.

[439] Nevertheless the intentions of the Russian government with regard to trade with Central Asia did not prevent it from supporting the exchange of goods with the Kazaks in every way possible. [712] At first this was only done at Orenburg, while later it was begun at Troitsk and, in 1764, at the fort of Semipalatinsk. This last fort was designated for this purpose on the entreaty of Sultan Abulfenz, son of the famous khan, Abul Mahmet, and brother of Polat, khan of Turkestan. In the Middle Horde he was in command of the powerful Naiman descent group. He was independent, but camped in the former lands of the Dzungars, which had made him seek the protection of the emperor of China. [439] Having never sworn loyalty to Russia nor had relations with her, he was able, without deception, to send a respectable elder to the authorities of the Siberian border to plead that his subjects have the liberty of trading with the Russians in Semipalatinsk. And this was immediately granted to him.

[342 177] At this time Sultan Ablai requested the Russian government to send him ten tillers of the soil to teach his Kazaks agriculture. [661] Catherine gave orders to satisfy his request, after having taken

[267 cont.]
we will say that his raids and those of his partisans forced the Russians to send two [268] detachments of troops beyond the Ural. The first was composed of 2,760 men and was sent from the Ural toward the source of the Emba. The second, of 1,250 Cossacks, was sent from Uralik /Uralsk?/ toward the mouth of that same river. Snow prevented these troops from acting according to their instructions, but nevertheless the expedition was not entirely useless. They seized 213 women and children, for [727] whose ransom a large number of Russians who had been captured earlier were given up.

It will be understood that such conditions were not of a sort to make caravan trade flourish between Russia and Central Asia. For a long time the khans' promises to protect the caravans had not been believed. Long experience had made their weakness known. Nor could it be hoped to restore the brigands to reason for a long period of time. For this reason means were sought to establish the safety of trade by force of arms. It was proposed, to this end, to build forts on the Emba and Temir rivers and defenses on the route from these two points to Iletsk [Sol-Iletsk], or to set up only one fortification on Mangyshlak [Peninsula] on the Caspian Sea and to send the caravans from Guryev by sea. Thus from Orenburg to Guryev they could follow the route along the Nizhne-Uralsk line in complete safety.

One of these plans was not carried out, partly because of the extraordinary difficulties which had to be surmounted and partly because the old trade routes were very advantageous to the Khivans and Bukharans, for although the new ones would have been safer, they still would not have been entirely safe from attack.

The Orenburg border commission controlled matters pertaining to the Kazaks, or rather it examined all the relations of the government with this people, but it could not study the individual disputes which arose between the residents on the two sides of the line. The [269] Empress, in order to remedy this, conceived the plan of establishing a tribunal in whose operations the Kazaks would take the same part as the Russians, and which would serve them as a school of justice. This at least was what

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
[527]
[579]
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2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241] possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342 places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

712 1. It is said that in the last years of the
346 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde,
[361] built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a
651 small toll to the lord for free passage across
311 his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.